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supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Ifugao Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokо or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ayunad-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ámadá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764